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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 26 October 1992, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. GANEV	(Bulgaria)
later:	Mr. MOUMIN (Vice-President)	(Comoros)

- Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization: reports of the Secretary-General [10] (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 10 (continued)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/1, A/47/277)

Mr. ABU ODEH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset, I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for arranging to have this meeting devoted to discussing the Secretary-General's report, "An Agenda for Peace", in response to the wishes of several groups and in appreciation of the importance of the matter.

The Secretary-General's report, as pointed out therein, drew upon ideas and proposals transmitted to the Secretary-General by Governments, regional agencies, non-governmental Organizations and institutions as well as by individuals from many countries. This leads to the conclusion that the contents of the report represent a world trend that has the potential of crystallizing and becoming, in time, a general international approach.

My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General that, with the end of the cold war, the world has regained a valuable opportunity to achieve the great objectives of the United Nations Charter and that such an opportunity should never be squandered like other previous opportunities that were lost because the cold war had paralysed the United Nations and weakened it. Proceeding from this, my delegation takes pleasure in participating in this discussion.

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

Although the concept of preventive diplomacy is not new to the United Nations, it has been creatively developed in the report at the levels of theory and practice. While preventive diplomacy meant, when it first emerged at the end of the first decade after the establishment of the Organization, intervention by the Organization in areas of conflict to fill the vacuum and prevent intervention by any of the Powers of the then rival camps, it now means, as defined in the Secretary-General's report the easing of tensions before they turn into conflicts, the prevention of disputes amongst countries and the prevention of the escalation of disputes into armed conflicts once they arise. Thus, preventive diplomacy is more effective and less costly than the other means available to the Organization to intervene in conflicts, including peace-keeping operations.

My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General that it is important to take all possible measures with the aim of confidence building between the parties to the conflict, including the exchange of information on armaments in order to stem arms proliferation, particularly weapons of mass destruction, in areas of potential conflict.

Furthermore, Jordan supports the need to enhance the Secretary-General's role in taking the initiative, when sensing any disputes that may threaten international peace and security, by alerting the Security Council, in order to send in fact-finding missions in line with Article 99 of the Charter as time is of the essence in enabling the United Nations to take the necessary measures to reduce tension and to de-escalate and defuse conflicts.

My delegation also supports making available to the Secretary-General the necessary technical financial resources for the fact-finding missions using all the facilities made available by the parties to the conflict.

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

Jordan believes that early warning is very important in monitoring disputes that could escalate into armed conflict and is a very necessary constructive idea if we want the United Nations to prevent the eruption of armed conflicts.

The responsibility of Member States as we see it is not confined to making available the resources necessary for United Nations intervention but also includes the responsibility stipulated in Article 35 of the Charter which makes it incumbent on Member States to bring to the attention of the Security Council any dispute in any region that may degenerate into a conflict and thereby threaten international peace and security.

There is no doubt that reluctance on the part of Member States to do that limits the efficacy of the United Nations role. The responsibility of early warning is the collective responsibility of the Secretary-General, the Security Council and the Member States.

The peacemaking process mentioned in the report means the prevention and removal of future disputes through reconciliation between the parties by peaceful means. This could be attained through such means as are suggested in Chapter VI of the Charter.

We believe that this is a sound approach and support it, assuming that it must also apply to existing and chronic regional and international conflicts since failure to resolve such conflicts will threaten international peace and security as well as the very credibility of the United Nations.

We should like to stress in this respect that recourse to the provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter and the machinery stipulated therein for the settlement of disputes is not optional to the parties to a dispute, but a duty. Member States should adhere to those provisions and thereby uphold the Charter and enhance the credibility of the Organization. By so doing, Member

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

States would be active in maintaining international peace and security by civilized humanitarian means in a spirit of fairness and equality.

Recourse to the measures outlined in Chapter VII of the Charter should be a last resort, after all other peaceful means have been exhausted.

Like the framers of the Charter, we recognize the seriousness, sensitivity and cost of having recourse to the provisions of Chapter VII to achieve peace. Therefore, my delegation would emphasize strongly the need not to side-step Articles 33, 36, 37 and 38 of Chapter VI of the Charter which constitute the proper approach for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The application of the provisions of those articles meticulously and in good faith should be a legal and humanitarian precondition of applying the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

The decision to use force as provided for in Article 42 of Chapter VII must be made by the Security Council which should determine, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee, the strength of the participating contingents and the plans for military action in accordance with Articles 45 and 46 of the Charter.

The peacemaking process should not be the preserve of the Security Council alone, nor of any principal organ of the United Nations independentally. Any peace process must be conducted jointly by the Security Council and the General Assembly through which the democratic character of the United Nations is assured.

The enchancement of the United Nations role in the area of international peace and security requires the strengthening of all United Nations organs, especially the General Assembly with its universal character and important role in the peacemaking process referred to in many of the articles of the Charter.

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

Recourse to the International Court of Justice should be encouraged also in cases involving issues and disputes on which the Court can give an opinion as explained in Article 36 of the Statute of the Court, especially since Article 94 of the Charter provides that each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.

My delegation supports the proposals made by the Secretary-General in "An Agenda for Peace" to activate the International Court of Justice.

Imposing sanctions on a State as provided for in Article 41 is done with the aim of achieving peace. Implementing such sanctions is entrusted to all Member States. This creates economic difficulties for some States, especially those which have close economic and trade ties with the country against which sanctions are applied.

Therefore, compliance by such States with resolutions imposing embargoes is tantamount to penalizing them unless those problems are resolved in accordance with Article 50 of the Charter. In order to achieve that goal, suitable machinery must be found to implement that Article with the speed and efficiency required to avoid causing damage to the affected countries.

The idea of establishing peace enforcement units in the context of the Agenda seems to be in harmony with the role required of the United Nations in certain situations where the nature of the event is beyond the capabilities of the peace-keeping forces. My delegation wishes to emphasize in this regard the necessity for such forces to act under the terms of Article 41 of the Charter.

Since its inception, the United Nations has played an important role in bringing hostilities to an end and in the easing of tension in a number of hotbeds of conflict in the world through the use of its peace-keeping forces.

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

Although the deployment of such forces does not constitute a solution to the problem, their presence makes a positive contribution to defusing the situation and creating a quieter atmosphere conducive to movement towards peace.

A salient proof of the success of peace-keeping operations and the confidence placed in them by the world is the fact that there has been an increased demand for them all over the world, especially in recent years as shown in the Secretary-General's report.

This expanded use of the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations indicates that their role will remain important for a long time to come. Hence, the need to develop this unique innovation of the United Nations so that it may move from the stage of being used in isolated cases into the stage of becoming a part of the military dogma of the armed forces of the various Member States.

In order for us to reach such a stage, my delegation deems it necessary to start creating the appropriate nucleus. In order to do so, we propose the following: First, that symposia be organized to bring together the Chiefs of Staff of the armed forces taking part in all United Nations operations with a view to learning the lessons of these operations and assessing their successes and the difficulties they face and thereby arriving at firm bases for improving the performance of such forces and developing patterns of training and preparation for participation in approved operations. The participating States should have the required preparedness and equipment to participate promptly and effectively in such operations if and when the need arises.

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

Secondly, that consideration be given to the possibility of participation by forces of contributing countries in periodical joint exercises. This would facilitate cooperation among them in the future and infuse them with the esprit de corps when called upon.

Thirdly, that Member States which have the required technical capability, including means of transportation, should contribute part thereof and keep it in a state of readiness at all times so that the United Nations may readily and promptly avail itself of such contribution and thereby save the time that is wasted usually in searching for the required logistical support.

Making peace-keeping operations part of the military dogma of the armies of States Members of the United Nations is undoubtedly extremely important, not only at the military level but also at the level of creating and developing sentiments of peace and confidence amongst those States and their peoples.

My country, which is proud of contributing a substantial number of its military personnel and civilian police to a number of peace-keeping operations, is very happy to announce its readiness always to respond positively, within its means, to any further requests by the United Nations in this regard.

The Charter devoted Chapter VIII to regional arrangements or agencies. The nature and mandates of such agencies vary from one region to the other. Excluding the alliances of a purely military nature, regional groupings are usually based on cooperation in the economic and social fields and on collective security. These are the agencies that could play a role in discharging the tasks enumerated in "An Agenda for Peace".

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

Although there are cases where such organizations have been successful, especially in recent times, as indicated in the report of the Secretary-General, they were often, and for so many years, unable to make a serious contribution to the maintenance of peace and security in the regions or to the resolution of outstanding disputes.

I need not enumerate here the situations that arise in our region, where the relevant organizations failed to discharge their responsibilities, whether in preventive diplomacy or in the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, or even in peace-keeping and peace-building operations. This, in fact, applies to the United Nations also. If we look for the reasons behind this, we find that most important among them is the lack of agreement by parties to a dispute or members of an organization to have recourse to their organization or to accept it as a body that can contribute to finding a solution to the problem. This is one aspect of the question.

The other aspect lies in our understanding of the nature of the relationship between such organizations and the United Nations, particularly the Security Council. It is true that the Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security world wide. However, this does not preclude regional organizations from playing an effective and pioneering role in this respect. Indeed we see a necessity for encouraging such organizations to take the initiative to solve disputes in coordination with the Security Council and in conformity with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter.

My country feels that the League of Arab States, as a regional organization, can play a constructive role in supporting the objectives and principles of the United Nations. This requires, in our opinion, intensive

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and extensive consultations between representatives of the secretariats of the two organizations.

The third aspect concerns the role within the Security Council of interregional organizations and movements, such as the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. First of all, we have to admit that member States of the Security Council, permanent and non-permanent alike, must reflect the collective position of the States Members of the United Nations and distance themselves as far as possible from pursuing their own interests or imposing their own views.

Jordan believes that the member States of the Non-Aligned Movement are well-equipped to play a positive role within the Security Council and within the United Nations system as a whole. Other States and groups of States, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, must view this role with a greater degree of understanding. Jordan also believes that the composition of the Security Council needs to be reviewed so that it may become more representative and thereby reflect existing international realities, promote confidence in the United Nations and in its democratic nature, and thus discharge the major tasks enumerated in the report.

Money is the prerequisite of the success of the plan embodied in the "Agenda for Peace". The Secretary-General's report reminds us of the financial situation of the United Nations. Arrears of States from their assessed contributions reached $908.5 million in September 1992. Arrears due for peace-keeping operations during the same period were $814.4 million. This is a most serious matter, especially with regard to its negative impact on the ability to achieve the desired goals and to implement the relevant programmes. It also makes it difficult to plan for the long term, or even to

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meet immediate needs or to undertake urgently needed activities, such as peace-keeping operations.

It is therefore imperative to address the financial crisis, which is due in large part to non-payment by some States, especially the larger contributors, of their full assessment on time.

Jordan, which has always paid its contributions on time and in full, concurs with the proposals of the Secretary-General in the area of finance, in particular those calling for renewable and predictable resources.

The Secretary-General was right when he stressed in "An Agenda for Peace" the necessity for dealing in a wider sense with the root causes of conflict, which he summarized as economic frustration, social injustice and political oppression. The agenda, however, though it analyses in detail the ways and means of consolidating peace, which analysis constituted, together with the recommendations and proposals of the Secretary-General, the bulk of the report, made a passing reference only to the three deep causes of conflict whose interdependence (which may be summed up in the one word: development) is quite clear to all.

Therefore, my country deems it necessary to start drawing up a plan for development that would complement "An Agenda for Peace" and make it an integrated global effort.

Talking of "An Agenda for Peace" will naturally lead us to pay attention to the future. My country's delegation wishes in this regard to warn that paying attention to the future does not mean ignoring the problems that we have lived with throughout the past era, and with which we continue to live, namely, the problems of debt, poverty and disease which, like chronic conflicts, like the question of Palestine and like the Middle East conflict,

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

still weigh heavily on our shoulders as we prepare to enter upon the new era. Giving serious attention to solving these problems is a matter of great importance, so that they may not sap our strength, as they did in the past, and diminish our enthusiasm and readiness to contribute to building the world envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations.

Finally, the world, with all its countries and peoples, is passing through a stage of transition. The United Nations itself is no exception. Therefore, we all live in a state of dialogue, both internationally and nationally. The "Agenda for Peace" which we are considering is an outstanding contribution that nourishes and enriches this dialogue. Therefore, my country's delegation supports the call for the creation of an open-ended working group of the General Assembly to study the results of the ongoing discussion and to follow up in order to reach a consensus that would make "An Agenda for Peace" a solid and clear framework for international action and ensure a safe entry upon the new era, at the threshold of which the world now stands. A major guarantee for achieving this goal is the enhancement of the General Assembly's role and the promotion of the democratic process therein. This will ensure the credibility of the United Nations and enable it to shoulder its heavy responsibilities. It is the Organization to which countries attach their hopes and which they trust will enable them to live in an interdependent world of peace, security and prosperity.

Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria): The Nigerian delegation is pleased to address the Assembly on the subject of the report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277). The report undoubtedly represents a significant contribution to international efforts to achieve durable peace in the post-cold-war era. Indeed, it goes a long way in the quest to strengthen the United Nations so that it can effectively grapple with the new challenges and opportunities which have become manifest since the end of the cold war.

The Secretary-General's report focuses on preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping. Other aspects dwell on post-conflict peace-building and cooperation with regional arrangements and organizations, as well as on the financing of the United Nations. His analysis and recommendations on these issues chart new perspectives in the ongoing efforts to revitalize the United Nations. It is therefore fitting and proper to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for the thoughts that went into the preparation of the report.

The idea and practice of preventive diplomacy emerged in the era of the cold war. Essentially, it was meant to isolate super-Powers from involvement in regional conflict situations so as to avoid the exacerbation of such situations. With the end of super-Power rivalry, the post-cold-war environment is most appropriate for the full development of preventive diplomacy and related methods for the maintenance of international peace and security. We recognize that the currents of democratization sweeping through various parts of the world and the commitment of many States to uphold the human rights of their citizens contribute to this favourable environment.

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

Although the Security Council has a primary responsibiiity for the maintenance of international peace and security as provided for in Chapter VI of the Charter, particularly in Articles 33, 34 and 36, the same Charter, in Articles 10 to 15, also assigns to the General Assembly a complementary role. Given its broad representation and on the basis of our experience as Chairman of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, my delegation believes that the General Assembly should be an effective partner in the maintenance of international peace and security. The active involvement or participation of these two organs of the United Nations in the conceptualization and implementation of proposals for preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building would strengthen the capacity of our Organization to deal effectively with acts of aggression involving big and small Powers alike.

My delegation welcomes the Secretary-General's initiatives on preventive diplomacy through the use of an early warning system, preventive deployment, and the establishment of demilitarized zones as peace buffers between warring factions. Concepts such as preventive deployment, early warning systems, and the creation of military zones are none the less primarily military holding actions prior to the resolving of conflicts. Therefore, a complete peace process should embrace other non-military means of achieving peace, including in particular the use of political and diplomatic means. Such measures, if carefully applied, would have the advantage of cost-effectiveness in addition to being more efficient in pre-empting conflict situations. We must also stress that fact-finding missions should take due cognizance of the sovereignty of the States in question. My delegation is of the view that parties to conflicts and other relevant interests should always offer maximum

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

cooperation for the success of such diplomatic and peace-seeking efforts undertaken by the United Nations.

The Nigerian delegation has given serious consideration to the issue of the preventive deployment of troops to conflict areas. We are of the view that it is important to ensure that such deployments take full account of domestic political circumstances and sensitivities. The United Nations should avoid taking any action that could escalate conflicts and undermine the administration of humanitarian assistance to victims.

> We welcome the Secretary-General's assurance that such deployments:
>
> "would not be an infringement of that State's sovereignty or be contrary to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which refers to matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State". (A/47/277, para. 30)

We believe that there is need to ensure that adequate care is taken not to compromise the neutrality of the United Nations.

Regional arrangements were given a role in the maintenance of international peace and security in the Charter. Articles 52, 53 and 54 spell out clearly what is expected of regional organizations. In 1982, the Organization of African Unity undertook a peace-keeping mission in Chad. In West Africa, the Economic Community of West African States has, since 1990, been engaged in sustained efforts to achieve peace in Liberia. At present, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is seized of peace efforts in Yugoslavia. All these actions are in line with the regional arrangements as envisioned in the Charter and emphasized in the "Agenda for Peace". We welcome them.

We cannot but observe that some regional organizations are prevented by inadequate resources from effectively fulfilling the role assigned to them

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under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. Accordingly, the United Nations should assist such regional organizations, through the provision of resources and logistical support, so as to enable them to be an effective partner of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. A credible role for regional organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security would alleviate the increasing demands on the United Nations and would also enhance the rapid deployment of troops to areas of conflict.

New developments in the world have expanded the scope of peace-keeping. From interposing United Nations troops in conflict situations with the consent of the parties in dispute, peace-keeping has come to embody such other activities as election monitoring, humanitarian assistance, and the building of political institutions. The United Nations has therefore assumed much greater responsibility today than ever before in the history of the Organization. The signs are that it will continue to do so in the emerging new world order.

The cost and burden of peace-keeping have been correspondingly enormous and will continue to grow. Projected estimates for ongoing peace-keeping operations for the next year is put at $3 billion. Since the United Nations was established, its peace-keeping operations have been dogged by financial difficulties, due in part to ideological conflicts and the disputed mandates of some peace-keeping operations. In this post-cold-war era, we expect Member States seriously to seek a solution to this perennial financial problem. This will distribute evenly the burden of peace-keeping operations, as some countries, apart from making contributions, also have troops in the field. Not only is Nigeria a troop-contributing country, but our country has also

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endeavoured to meet its financial obligations to all United Nations peace-keeping operations. We therefore wholeheartedly support the Secretary-General's recommendation for the establishment of a revolving peace-keeping reserve fund. We also appeal to all Member States to fulfil their financial obligations to ensure the success of ongoing and future peace-keeping operations to be undertaken by the United Nations.

The Nigerian delegation is concerned at the increased attacks on United Nations peace-keeping personnel. Efforts should therefore be made to protect such personnel. Any unprovoked attack on peace-keeping personnel should attract appropriate international sanctions.

The absence of war is not the equivalent of peace. Accordingly, while attention has rightly been devoted to curbing aggression and conflicts, other threats to international peace and security merit serious attention if we are to build the structures of true and lasting peace. Therefore, the international community as a whole must urgently address the problems of poverty, the problems of economic and social development, and the problems of environmental degradation - problems which threaten many countries, particularly countries in the South.

In conclusion, my delegation strongly endorses the view that the root causes of war and the deepest sources of international tension are economic despair, social injustice, and political oppression. A true agenda for peace must therefore reflect as much concern for non-military threats to international peace and security as it does for military ones. Ultimately, a peace which is not based on the dignity of mankind; which is not based on respect for human rights; and which is not based on international law and equity in inter-State relations, cannot endure.

Mr. PASHOVSKI (Bulgaria): I would like to begin by expressing satisfaction about the fact that the new role of the United Nations in the post-cold-war period has become a subject of thorough and extremely useful discussion from the very start of this General Assembly session. Indeed, we are entering a new era, and in order to be able to respond successfully to the new situation, it is imperative that the Organization adapt its activities to the changing international environment. It is also very important to widen and strengthen cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and other international organizations and regional arrangements. The security problems of our interdependent world could be resolved most effectively by combining the potential of these structures to form an interlocking and mutually reinforcing system. The United Nations, as the universal body with the widest responsibilities, is called upon to play the leading role in this network of global and regional organizations.

In my statement in the general debate, I had the opportunity to voice our support for the thrust and the basic proposals contained in the Secretary-General's report, "An Agenda for Peace". It is a comprehensive set of ideas and specific recommendations for strengthening the Organization. It answers the urgent need for greater focus on preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building in the light of the pressing problems we are facing today. The Bulgarian delegation will continue to be actively involved in the discussion on these issues. In my present statement I will therefore not attemp: to cover all issues of interest to this delegation, but rather concentrate on several topics.

I have already stressed the importance of preventive deployment of long-term missions in areas adjacent to regions of conflict or tension as an

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effective means to enhance confidence and stability. I did this against the background of the positive experience of implementing such a measure in my country. This example is clear proof of the validity of the ideas underlying the proposals on preventive deployment contained in "An Agenda for Peace". It is our opinion that such deployment should not be viewed as limited only to military presence or any pre-established format of the operation. There are different circumstances involved in each individual situation that may warrant varying forms of preventive deployment. The form, size, composition, duration and other modalities should be chosen to correspond to the nature of the specific case on the basis of consultations. The missions may consist of civilian, police or military personnel, or a combination of these.

As regards cooperation between the United Nations and regional arrangements, a significant potential is offered by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The Helsinki Summit in July this year took very important decisions, creating the capability of a meaningful and effective involvement of the CSCE in conflict prevention and crisis management. The readiness of the partcipating States to attribute to the Conference a greater role in pursuing the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations was manifested by the recognition of the CSCE as a regional arrangement in the sense of Chapter VIII. Some of these new capabilities have already been tested in practice. We call for the continuation of this process. The meeting of the Council of Ministers in Stockholm in December this year, as the central decision-making and governing body of the CSCE, presents a valuable opportunity for follow-up of our present discussion at the regional level.

(Mr. Pashovski, Bulgaria)

An essential factor for the effectiveness of the mandatory actions under Article 41 of the Charter is their strict observance. Recent United Nations experience has clearly shown that in order to achieve the desired effect the imposition of sanctions should be regarded as a comprehensive operation. All aspects should be carefully studied and assessed in advance, possibly within an integrated operating budget providing for the covering of all necessary expenditures. Such a budget may incorporate the deployment, upon invitation by Governments, of sanctions assistance missions. A set of measures should also be devised, involving the financial institutions and other components of the United Nations system, to help Member States to alleviate the economic burdens resulting from the observance of sanctions.

We share the concerns about the existing financial difficulties of the Organization, especially with regard to its peace-keeping capacity. We therefore commend the proposal of the Secretary-General to establish a revolving peace-keeping reserve fund to meet the initial expenses of United Nations operations pending receipt of assessed contributions. An arrangement for allocating a fixed percentage of Member States' defence budgets for financing United Nations peace-keeping activities would present an appropriate and sound solution. There is a strong rationale behind such an arrangement, for it is unquestionable that United Nations peace-keeping constitutes a significant contribution to national efforts to achieve security and stability.

The link between international peace, security and stability, on the one hand, and the respect and promotion of human rights, on the other, is gaining growing significance. As a representative of a country that has just emerged from a totalitarian past, I am aware that our quest for a better world

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requires that it be built on the foundation of common values in this area. Mankind will not be successful in living together in harmony if it fails to secure compliance with basic international standards in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms. This should serve as a test, as a criterion for each country. States should assume clear legal responsibility for their compliance with the generally accepted standards in the field of humanitarian law and human rights. The instruments and mechanisms at the disposal of the international community should be enhanced to ensure implementation of existing commitments.

Gross violations of international humanitarian law may threaten international stability. Therefore, the international community is in urgent need of creating a judicial mechanism for prosecuting the perpetrators of such acts. The creation of an international criminal court should be given serious and urgent consideration. We also welcome Security Council resolution 780 (1992), which requests the establishment of a Commission of Experts to examine and analyse information on violations of international humanitarian law in the territory of the former Yugoslavia as another important step in this direction.

But crimes against humanity and violations of international obligations in the field of human rights should not only be punished; we should also focus our concerted effort on the prevention of such acts. Hence, there is a growing need for enhancing the capacity of the United Nations for early warning and preventive action, as well as post-crisis amelioration of once explosive situations.

(Mr. Pashovski, Bulgaria)

The report of the Secretary-General puts forward a whole array of possibilities for preventive action and peacemaking. In that regard, we would like to lay special stress on the need to make full use of the means and methods provided for in the Charter for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. It is our conviction that Member States and the principal United Nations bodies should resort more frequently to the International Court of Justice. We urge all Member States to accept the general jurisdiction of the Court under Article 36 of its Statute. Bulgaria reiterates its support for the Secretary-General's recommendation that he be authorized, pursuant to Article 96, paragraph 2, of the Charter, to seek advisory opinions of the Court.

We should be aware of the need to work out, not just a list of possible instruments, but a comprehensive system of tools for preventive diplomacy. That system should address the various characteristics of potential conflicts and provide mechanisms for effective international efforts. It should comprise early warning capabilities, confidence- and security-building measures, enhanced incentives for resort to the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the capacity for concerted action to contain and manage conflicts that have not been prevented and for post-crisis peace-building.

Mrs. MAIR (Jamaica): On behalf of the member States of the Caribbean Community - Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, and Jamaica - I wish to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his reports before the General Assembly today, namely the report of the Secretary General on the work of the Organization (A/47/1); and "An Agenda for Peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping" (A/47/277).

(Mrs. Mair, Jamaica)

These very comprehensive and thought-provoking reports are presented at a time when profound changes in the international political climate offer new and complex challenges. They also present new opportunities for effective global cooperation, in which the role of the United Nations is central.

In his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General expresses the wish that

"a fundamental renewal of the United Nations will be complete by the time it marks its first half-century of existence". (A/47/1, para. 7)

The Agenda for Peace, on which we shall focus our greatest attention, contains many fundamental elements for such a renewal. It is in essence a comprehensive response to the urgent, increasing demands from every region for peace, security and development. That response is informed by an expanded definition of security, a definition which underlines the complex sources of conflict and war. As the report states, such sources are pervasive and deep.

The member States of the Caribbean Community are pleased to note this acceptance by the Secretary-General in his report of a wider definition of international security which recognizes not only political and military, but also social and economic, issues which are often the sources of political conflict. The Secretary-General acknowledges that preventive diplomacy must include information on economic and social trends as well as political developments, which lead to dangerous tensions. We therefore strongly endorse his statement that the Organization's responsibilities and commitments in the political and security area should not be carried out at the expense of its responsibilities in the development field, and that neither should be subordinated to the other. It is essential that they be pursued in an integrated, mutually supporting way, utilizing the resources of both the Security Council and the General Assembly.

(Mrs. Mair, Jamaica)

The Secretary-General's report, "An Agenda for Peace", also reinforces the importance of United Nations cooperation with regional organizations which have the very special competence to play a strategic role in processes of preventive diplomacy as well as in peacemaking and peace-building.

In my region, Haiti presents a classic case for the United Nations to invoke the principles and guidelines contained in the Secretary-General's report, namely applying political, social and economic indicators in determining the root causes of that truly tragic situation. It also requires strengthening, through appropriate measures, the capability of the regional organization, in this instance the Organization of American States, which is seized of the problem. The active participation of the United Nations in finding a solution to this escalating human tragedy which threatens the security of the region can contribute significantly to the urgently needed process of national reconciliation and national reconstruction.

The member States of the Caribbean Community strongly support the thesis that the observance of international law has to be the solid foundation of all activities undertaken by the United Nations in the pursuance of peace and security. In this context, and particularly during this Decade of International Law, we believe that serious consideration should be given to the Secretary-General's recommendations on the role of the International Court of Justice and on acceptance by Member States of the Court's compulsory jurisdiction. We also support in principle the proposal that the Secretary-General should be authorized to seek the advisory opinion of the World Court in respect of issues of which he is seized. The discretionary competence which is implied here is consistent with and clearly supplements the responsibility entrusted to the Secretary-General in Article 99 of the

(Mrs. Mair, Jamaica)

Charter, which requires him to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

The report raises major budgetary implications for the effective implementation of the Agenda for Peace. The issue of United Nations resources needed for the growing demands of peace-keeping and peace-building is a major problem. The resolution of that problem will require the most serious consideration by the United Nations. The Secretary-General suggests that Member States should look to their national defence budgets to finance such programmes. This, in our view, indicates the need for the United Nations simultaneously to activate most vigorously its mandate for disarmament.

The world has put the cold war behind it, but the peace dividend has yet to be realized, and could well provide the sources for funding a peaceful and equitable new world order such as the Secretary-General has envisaged with great insight. Such an order demands, as an absolute imperative, a just global economic environment as the foundation for international peace and security. We therefore share the view expressed by the Minister of State for External Affairs of India during the recently concluded general debate that an agenda for development, so designated by the Secretary-General, is as important as an agenda for peace. We are also of the view that they should complement each other.

(Mrs. Mair, Jamaica)

The elaboration of such a world order clearly requires the participation of all the States Members of the United Nations. And in this context the role of the General Assembly is absolutely paramount. It is based on the fundamental principles of the Charter which affirm the sovereign equality of all Member States that function through processes that are democratic and transparent. Its authority in relation to all issues of the agenda of the United Nations is unquestioned, and we therefore welcome the Secretary-General's recurring emphasis in his reports on the essential responsibilities of the General Assembly.

So in this context our region supports the proposal which has been made by other Member States that this very important report "An Agenda for Peace" which is before us at this session should be the subject of analysis and further elaboration by an open-ended working group of the General Assembly.

Mr. KHERBI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): I should like to tell you once again, Sir, how pleased we are that you are presiding over the General Assembly at this session. I should also like to congratulate the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on the quality and comprehensiveness of his report on the work of the Organization and on his "Agenda for Peace". Most assuredly, these are important contributions, which, in their scope and in their thrust, give food for thought, for discussion, for dialogue and for broad-based joint action with a view to strengthening our Organization and making it a more effective instrument for serving the purposes and principles of the Charter. Coming in a context of far-reaching changes in international relations and marking the will to adapt the United Nations to the new requirements and the challenges of

(Mr. Kherbi, Algeria)

our time, this innovative and imaginative undertaking is of genuine interest to the international community in its quest for a more just and more equitable new order.

The guidelines and the points of reference on which the non-aligned countries will base themselves have been set out by the representative of Indonesia, which currently holds the Chair of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We agree with the analysis he made and fully associate ourselves with the proposals he made, which are the result of the process of reflection on the "Agenda for Peace" in which the non-aligned countries have been engaged since its publication.

In the statement he made in the general debate on 28 September 1992, the Minister for External Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, emphasized that

> "this session of the General Assembly will be a new starting-point for the United Nations that will place it resolutely on the path of greater democratization and enhance its effectiveness in promoting peace, cooperation and development". (A/47/PV.14, p. 7)

The Assembly's consideration of "An Agenda for Peace" affords us a new opportunity jointly to think about the steps to be taken and the means to be used for the achievement of these objectives which will determine the future of international relations and which, naturally, should in all circumstances guide our collective action. This means that the democratization of international relations must take place first of all within our Organization and must constitute a guiding priority for any broad-based global action aimed at reaffirming the purposes and principles of the Charter and strengthening the capabilities of the United Nations in all spheres.

(Mr. Kherbi, Algeria)

In this regard, strict respect for the prerogatives of the major bodies of the United Nations should be reflected in a fair balance that highlights the importance of the role of the General Assembly. Thus, we have noted with satisfaction that in his annual report the Secretary-General has stated that the cornerstone of all action is the full application of the principles of democracy within nations and within the world Organization itself.

This commitment is obviously in line with our concerns as non-aligned developing countries with regard to respect for the cardinal principles which should underlie international relations and the activity of the United Nations - namely, the sovereign equality of States, non-interference in internal afairs, non-use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the territorial integrity of States, the right of peoples to self-determination, the right to development, and the promotion of international cooperation.

In the same vein, we believe that the recommendations contained in "An Agenda for Peace" are deserving of serious consideration in depth by the General Assembly and its subsidiary bodies, as well as by all the other bodies and institutions of the United Nations. The proposal that the General Assembly set up an open-ended working group deserves the support of all inasmuch as it reflects the role of the General Assembly as the pre-eminent democratic and representative body for the maintenance of international peace and security.

(Mr. Kherbi, Algeria)

Algeria will contribute to the group's work, cooperating fully in an attempt to achieve positive results to the benefit of peace, cooperation and shared development and prosperity for all.

We should like to emphasize first at this stage that security and development are indivisible, which implies that the right to development is a basic element of any consistent approach to preventive diplomacy. Hence we should remember that peace and security depend as much on socio-economic conditions as on military factors.

It is also important fully to integrate into preventive diplomacy actions in the sphere of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, since it is clear that situations of qualitative and quantitative imbalance constitute threats to international peace and security.

Finally, it should be pointed out that it may be difficult in practice to draw a clear distinction between preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace-building, since the applicable measures and instruments in each situation overlap a great deal. In all of these cases we must in the final analysis set in motion the variety of mechanisms provided for under Chapter VI of the Charter, whether to prevent a conflict, resolve it by peaceful means or avoid its recurrence.

It follows logically that the use of enforcement measures, or the use of force, would be contemplated only after the exhaustion of all means available to the United Nations, regional organizations and Member States for the peaceful settlement of disputes, including implementation of the relevant provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter.

(Mr. Kherbi, Algeria)

In this context, regional organizations and agreements have an important role to play in the implementation of the recommendations in the report of the Secretary-General (A/47/277). They should have the constant support of the United Nations in planning and carrying out preventive diplomacy or peace-keeping, peacemaking or peace-building operations. This support, which would form part of the democratization of international relations, should be expressed not only in political and diplomatic terms, but also in material terms, because lack of resources often affects their ability to settle regional conflicts.

With regard to peace-keeping operations and proposals to extend their scope, we believe that we must define general principles and ways and means of implementing them so as to avoid the risk of relying on such operations indefinitely in the field as a substitute for a political settlement. This of course does not mean that we should set up a rigid or fixed framework that would harm the flexibility or special nature of each operation; on the contrary, we should help realize the objectives for which it is set up, and the smooth carrying out of its mandate. We should also help all the bodies and parties involved - the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretary-General and the parties directly concerned - play their role.

The financing of peace-keeping operations should continue to be the collective responsibility of States Members. Nevertheless, the special responsibilities of the permanent members of the Security Council must ipso facto confer upon them similar financial obligations and the current method of sharing the cost of peace-keeping operations should be revised to

(Mr. Kherbi, Algeria)

take into account the limited capacity to pay of many developing countries, especially at a time when the number of such operations is increasing.

The current debate testifies to the clear determination of Member States to begin a dynamic process of strengthening the United Nations. If it is carried out in a methodical, rigorous, consistent and gradual manner, with a constant view to maintaining the balance of the United Nations, an institution built on sovereign equality and universality, the process may give rise to a genuine renewal and resurgence of our Organization.

Mr. ACHARYA (Nepal): The report of the Secretary-General, "An Agenda for Peace", is a major contribution to discussion of the role of the United Nations in meeting the challenges of the post-cold-war world. My delegation has followed with keen interest the thoughtful comments provoked by this important document both in the general debate and during this debate on item 10 of our agenda. While welcoming this serious discussion, my delegation feels that the General Assembly does well to keep in sharp focus the Secretary-General's wise caution that the search for improved mechanisms and techniques will mean little unless the new spirit of commonality among its membership is backed by the will to take the hard decisions demanded by this time of opportunity.

My delegation strongly supports the view that acute poverty, with its ever-present threat of social upheavals, constitutes the fundamental non-military challenge to security and stability. We believe that international cooperation in economic and social fields deserves the same sense of responsibility and urgency as the commitments to political and military issues. Failure on this front will keep the Organization forever tied to the crisis-by-crisis response.

My delegation views the discussion on "An Agenda for Peace" as the beginning of a process. The wide range of crucial issues of principle and policy raised by the report need to be examined in the competent organs of the United Nations. With this in mind, we support the proposal to establish an open-ended working group of the General Assembly. I will, therefore, limit myself to a few issues.

(Mr. Acharya, Nepal)

A consensus is already discernible on the Secretary-General's proposals on preventive diplomacy and peacemaking at an early stage. In the final analysis, the effectiveness of these recommendations rests on a greater willingness of Member States to have recourse to mechanisms under Chapter VI of the Charter. Allowing the Secretary-General the full freedom of action in accordance with the Charter, including the provision of Article 99, will strengthen the capacity of the United Nations in preventive diplomacy. An enhanced capacity for continuous gathering and analysis of reliable information will be indispensible if the Secretary-General is to carry out these functions. Apart from information from Member States, the Secretary-General should be able to make full use of the United Nations system around the world. My delegation believes that giving the Secretary-General authorization to request advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice under Article 96 would greatly enhance his capacity for quiet preventive diplomacy. An important component of the Secretary-General's recommendations is preventive deployment. My delegation feels that this mechanism could be immensely valuable in avoiding confrontation. We also agree with the proposal on the creation of demilitarized zones.

The massive human tragedy in various parts of the world, where thousands of innocent civilians are being slaughtered and subjected to unspeakable barbarity, does call for strong and urgent international measures to uphold the sanctity of life and norms of international law. The Secretary-General's recommendations on enforcement actions provide, within the framework of the Charter, coherent starting-points for a permanent mechanism, transcending the crisis-by-crisis approach. It is indeed a sad commentary on human civilization

(Mr. Acharya, Nepal)

that the use of force should remain the ultimate tool at the disposal of the United Nations. The significant political and other implications of the Secretary-General's recommendations under Article 43 deserve very careful scrutiny. While this study continues in the competent organs of the United Nations, my delegation strongly urges that we do not allow the focus on enforcement to relegate to the background the primary purpose of the United Nations, which is the promotion of peaceful settlement of disputes. My delegation fully endorses the view that, even if a consensus is reached on an enforcement mechanism, that mechanism should remain a last resort, after all other means of diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and humanitarian operations have been exhausted.

Nepal wholeheartedly supports the Secretary-General's thinking and his proposals on peace-keeping. Our soldiers and civilians have been serving the United Nations peace-keeping missions without a break for over 25 years, and we remain ready to respond to any call. Many of our men have defended the United Nations mandate with their lives. I express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his determination to ensure the safety of United Nations personnel. As a troop-contributing country of long standing, we share the Secretary-General's mounting concern over peace-keeping finances and unreservedly support his proposals. We hold it as a matter of principle that, while financing of a duly constituted peace-keeping operation is a collective obligation, the permanent members of the Security Council bear a special responsibility. We therefore believe that institutionalization of the present system of assessment would provide the needed stability and predictibility for the financing of peace-keeping operations. We have noted the intention of the

(Mr. Acharya, Nepal)

delegation of Japan to put before the current session a draft resolution dealing with the financial requirements for major peace-keeping operations at the start-up stage and we stand ready to cooperate with them. My delegation also supports the proposal of Japan for the establishment of a mechanism for consultations among the permanent members of the Security Council, the major sources of financial resources, countries providing large contingents and the countries of the regions concerned.

The ongoing serious discussions on enhancing the role of the United Nations cannot be delinked from the discussions on the functions of the Organization's organs, including the composition of the Security Council. The Secretary-General has put his finger on the crux of the matter, with his observations on democracy at the national levels and democracy, trust and impartiality within the family of nations. His observations could be the frame of reference in our effort to ensure democracy at all levels.

Mr. PIRIZ-BALLON (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): First of all, we too would like to associate ourselves with the tributes paid to the Secretary-General for his report "An Agenda for Peace". The face of the world has changed substantially. With the end of the cold war, prospects are dawning for turning into reality the ideals that inspired the founding of the United Nations.

(Mr. Piriz-Ballon, Uruguay)

The Secretary-General has seized this historic opportunity and has proposed a programme of action for the attainment of these goals. In many cases his proposals mean interpreting the scope of certain fundamental provisions of the Charter and assessing the suitability of the mechanisms available to us for ensuring their implementation. This task has become indispensable ever since the cold war made the implementation of these principles and purposes unthinkable.

Hence we believe that the Secretary-General is using a very valid metaphor when he warns us that we are navigating in uncharted waters. We must help him to chart the course, keeping as our North Star the ideals of the United Nations, with due emphasis on those principles that should guide us on our way and identifying the shoals that threaten our voyage.

Our position with respect to the course to be taken in this quest has been faithfully set forth in the statement by the delegation of Argentina from this rostrum on behalf of the members of the Rio Group. None the less I should like to express a few thoughts that are of particular importance to Uruguay, a country which, like many other Members of the Organization, has resolved to reconcile the appeal for action with the preservation and strengthening of certain basic principles of our international life. We would like to mention, among others, respect for the principle of sovereignty and the juridical equality of States, its corollary the principle of non-intervention, the right to self-determination, and respect for and promotion of human rights.

This reference to human rights as a whole, inevitably including economic and social rights, prompts us to mention one of our most important areas of

(Mr. Piriz-Ballon, Uruguay)

conceptual agreement with the proposals made by the Secretary-General. I am referring of course to the concept, based on an objective and honest analysis of reality, that economic and social development and international security are two sides of the same coin. As the representative of Argentina said, this integrated approach to development and security represents a view long held by the Latin American countries.

We believe in fact that the objective of reducing economic and social imbalances must not be interpreted solely as a premise, an unavoidable means of contributing to security there is no such syllogism of subordination. It is our understanding that development is an end in itself. Without development, security would be precarious and fragile, just as without security it is illusory to think about development. That is how we interpret the concept of an integrated approach to which the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" refers. It is very important to point out that if development were not sustainable from the environmental standpoint and from the standpoint of the management of natural resources, then both objectives would be jeopardized.

We should also recall that for the quest for development with security and security in development to be viable these must be based on the promotion of democracy and the full enjoyment of human rights in their other dimensions: political, civil and cultural. These are also concepts included in the report of the Secretary-General. It is never superfluous to recall their importance.

The problems which from a practical standpoint affect peace and security today are complex and varied. We often see at their root the impact of

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economic and social problems. But there are also other factors of an ethnic and religious nature, nationalist strife and resentments of all types, sometimes exploited by partisan personalities inspired by spurious ambition.

Hence we completely agree with the Secretary-General in his proposal for a realistic approach to confronting these conflicts. He rightly affirms in paragraph 113 of his report (A/47/1) that "no two conflicts are the same" and that the solution "must be approached with flexibility and creativity adapted to each particular situation".

The picture that emerges from this type of conflict, which by its localized nature is no less serious and tragic from a human standpoint, is a very disturbing one. It is clear that because of the limits imposed by the unassailably valid principle of non-intervention, nothing can take the place of the will of the parties regarding their behaviour vis-à-vis other principles that are certainly equally valid, such as the law of peoples, jus cogens and humanitarian law.

We the peoples of the world, custodians through the United Nations of these all-important principles must, under the provisions of the Charter, bring to bear all authorized means of pressure in order to overcome these situations. It is infinitely preferable, from every standpoint, to prevent conflicts before they break out than to have to remedy them by using peace-keeping operations.

That is why we support the use of preventive diplomacy, which can also be defined as the establishment of peace at an early stage and which as such can be seen in the context of Chapter VI of the Charter.

The efforts made in the recent turbulent months regarding missions of fact-finding and of good offices show that events are supporting the

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recommendations made in the report and we are gratified that this is the case. But it is necessary to strengthen further the preventive capacity of the United Nations, basically by giving the Secretary-General all the information that he needs in a timely manner about potential situations of conflict, and by providing the Secretariat with greater resources to increase its capacity for gathering, analysing and processing this information.

The preventive deployment of troops mentioned in the report of the Secretary-General, either upon the request of the two parties or of one of them, seems to us to be a very interesting concept. Likewise, preventive deployment in situations of national crisis, upon the request of the parties concerned, does not in principle pose conceptual problems for us, above all when much higher interests are at stake, such as the life and physical and moral integrity of the civilian population.

In this respect we wish to express our support for the emphasis which the Secretary-General places on the peacemaking role of the Organization through dispute-settlement techniques and procedures provided for in Chapter VI, which of course includes preventive diplomacy.

Although it is obvious, it is worth reaffirming that Chapter VII is applicable only after the means provided in Chapter VI have been completely and absolutely exhausted.

I should like to refer very briefly to the recommendation contained in paragraph 39 (a) of "An Agenda for Peace", on acceptance of Article 36 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. My Government cannot fail to share this idea since Uruguay was one of the first countries to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court.

(Mr. Piriz-Ballon, Uruguay)

Another aspect to be pointed out is the emphasis placed on the need to establish effective mechanisms for the implementation of the provisions of Article 50 of the Charter. In this respect my country enthusiastically supports this initiative, which is being given priority attention by the Special Committee on the Charter.*

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* Mr. Moumin (Comoros), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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We should also like to emphasize the importance Uruguay attaches to measures aimed at protecting the human rights of the civilian population in times of conflict, and the role the United Nations can play in this regard. For this reason we consider particularly important the Security Council's decision in which violations of international humanitarian law in Bosnia and Herzegovina are condemned and a Commission of Experts is established to gather evidence of such violations. We have always advocated the establishment of this kind of mechanism, a position that was clearly established by our Minister in the Commission on Human Rights.

Uruguay has participated in peace-keeping operations for almost 40 years now by providing observers and military contingents, police and civilian observers in the electoral and human-rights spheres.

My country's commitment to this mechanism arises from its conviction, which is profound indeed, that peace-keeping operations are an effective instrument for collective security.

As we all know, the expansion of peacekeeping operations has reached extraordinary dimensions both quantitatively and qualitatively. This expansion has been based on observance of the cardinal principles enshrined in practice, such as the consent of the parties involved, the non-combatant role of the United Nations forces, and the impartiality and neutrality of the United Nations in the conflict. These principles are vital in view of the nature of this kind of activity.

One of the critical factors affecting the success of these and other peace operations is undoubtedly the financial aspect. The financial crisis is a fact, and ways and means of resolving it must be found. In this connection

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the Secretary-General suggests some forms of action that we believe should be studied seriously by the Fifth Committee.

None the less we wish here and now to reaffirm my delegation's agreement with what was stated by the Rio Group in connection with the institutionalization of a special scale that faithfully reflects the collective responsibility of Member States. In our view, there is no new element that warrants its reform. In any event, new mechanisms must be additional to the special scale and must never replace it.

Chapter VIII of the report deals with questions relating to the safety of personnel involved in United Nations peace operations. This is clearly an important subject - and not only for troop-contributing countries such as my own. The Secreary-General proposes some interesting initiatives. We believe they must be studied in depth.

We welcome the fact that recent Security Council resolutions reflect this concern. We are convinced that the General Assembly also should be able to take a specific stand in this regard.

The importance of ensuring the broadest possible protection of personnel is self-evident. Hundreds of persons, both military and civilian, have already given their lives for the cause of peace. A few days ago, in this very forum, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom proposed that a memorial be established for those who have died in the service of the United Nations. We completely agree with that suggestion. We believe it is only just to pay a tribute of this type.

Finally, we should like to comment on the proposal of the Rio Group that a working group of the General Assembly be established to study the "Agenda for Peace".

(Mr. Piriz-Ballon, Uruguay)

The Secretary-General's report is addressed to all the Members of the United Nations. That is completely normal in view of the range of issues to which the agenda refers. It is therefore completely legitimate to have the report considered by the General Assembly, in which all Member States are represented.

The report is now being studied by the Security Council within its sphere of competence. It is also being studied by six subsidiary organs of the General Assembly within their respective mandates. We believe that this specialized and compartmentalized consideration is of course necessary and desirable, but at the same time it is, we feel, equally necessary to establish within the General Assembly a mechanism that allows us to have an overview, thus ensuring coordination among the subsidiary bodies and making possible a constructive dialogue with the Security Council.

Mr. SOMAVIA (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): This statement is made in the framework of the comments of the delegation of Argentina made on behalf of the countries members of the Rio Group.

The Secretary-General has given us an imaginative document. It is intellectually attractive and politically innovative. It merits our careful attention. We congratulate him and the team that prepared it. Let us give some thought to his ideas.

He offers us "An Agenda for Peace". This impels us to recognize that in our time peace is not merely the absence of conflicts and armed confrontation. The essence of peace is justice, not force. Justice, as a source of stability, is permanent. Force, as a source of stability, is temporary. A powerful nation is not necessarily just. A just nation is not

(Mr. Somavia, Chile)

necessarily powerful. When we in the United Nations speak of peace, we are speaking of placing force in the service of justice, and justice in the service of peace.

That is why preventive action is so important. We all know that long before open conflicts break out their ethnic, religious, cultural, social and economic roots are silently striking deeper. We are well aware that wars begin in the minds and hearts of human beings.

Identifying these situations in time is a primary responsibility of the Organization. We support all the proposals designed to strengthen the Secretary-General's capacity to take action in an impartial, independent manner, and in accordance with the Charter, to deal with latent conflicts in good time.

Peace must be attained above all by the instruments of peace - that is to say, through dialogue, persuasion, good offices and the whole range of means of preventive diplomacy. It would be dangerous for the United Nations to develop only a military concept of peace, as it would be if at the end of the day it lacked the military capacity to enforce its decisions.

(Mr. Somavia, Chile)

We must never forget that the United Nations was born to safeguard peace. This is the house of peace in the world. The main task is to know how to safeguard peace in each specific situation. We need to devise all the instruments of political power and negotiation that will prevent hostilities between two or more parties. We want the United Nations to be respected for the strength of its presence and its ideas, rather than for its concerted military-deterrence capacity. In people's minds the United Nations must be the symbol of a great, historic undertaking of non-violence.

All of this prompts the question "What does security in the modern age involve?" The cold war has already taught us that security is not a matter of accumulating more and more destructive weapons. In modern history the 45 years of the arms race have produced the most colossal waste.

Have we learned the lesson? It is not at all certain that we have. We may be living through the transition from a period in which the ideological frontiers of the cold war were used to justify the most horrible crimes to a period characterized by the re-emergence of religious and ethnic frontiers. As if by a miracle, those who seek armed confrontation never lack the weapons for their purpose.

The great challenge facing the United Nations is to contribute to the development, promotion and strengthening of a culture of peace. This is the Organization's basic preventive task. It is undoubtedly necessary that, in specific circumstances, the United Nations be given its own capacity for military intervention. This has been demonstrated by the Gulf war, by the situation in Cambodia and by the tragic situation in the republics of the former Yugoslavia. But let us not deceive ourselves. Military intervention by the United Nations is not the way to resolve the main contemporary problems

(Mr. Somavia, Chile)

of security. Repeated use of that means would ultimately diminish its effectiveness, as most contemporary sources of insecurity cannot be removed by the use of arms.

We cannot use force of arms to solve the problems of poverty, unemployment, drug addiction, racism, ethnic and religious hatred, the degradation of the environment, social instability, the tragedy of the disabled, the marginalization of women, and young people's lack of expectations. None of the fundamental problems of our societies can be solved through the use of arms.

This is why we need to recognize that only by strengthening the security of individuals, of families and of communities shall we be able to strengthen peace in a stable manner. A nation of secure individuals leads to a secure State; a nation of insecure individuals leads to an insecure State. The security of individuals is the basis of the security of the State. That security will not eliminate conflicts between States - history teaches us that such conflicts appear to be coextensive with the existence of mankind - but it will enormously diminish the sources of international tension.

Strengthening the security of individuals is, above all, a national responsibility, which must be discharged within the historical, political and social framework of each society. These ideas are coming strongly to the fore in various regions of the world. In the middle of the last decade, for example, a group of Latin Americans representing political circles, social movements, the arts and the churches formed the South American Peace Commission, which, in its declaration of principles, states: "Democracy is the foundation of peace".

The declaration proposed a modern concept of democratic security for our region, as well as the progressive establishment of a zone of peace among the

(Mr. Somavia, Chile)

South American countries, based on the principle that the security of individuals is as important as the security of the State - if not more so. These concepts, like those of so many other non-governmental organizations, give us an indication of the public's desire to take part in the consideration of these sometimes contentious issues.

These ideas have made their way into governmental thinking, as was shown by the most recent declaration by the Presidents of the Rio Group at their fifth summit meeting in Cartagena de Indias in 1991, when they decided to initiate the relevant consultations with a view to moving towards an understanding within the Group on the "proclamation of Latin America and the Caribbean as a zone of peace".

Discussion and freedom of opinion make it possible to tackle legitimate disputes in any society, whereas the absence of discussion and freedom of opinion can only lead to the building up of underground tensions, which, once they surface, are difficult to control.

The existence of social spaces in which to conduct discussions for the purpose of achieving consensus and agreement is essential to the preservation of peace. To this end, it is necessary that we have a culture of tolerance. This will enable us not only to be aware of our differences but also, despite those differences, to seek out the possibilities for common endeavour.

We welcome the prominence that the Secretary-General's report gives to recognition of the fact that some sources of instability have their origin in economic and social conditions. The United Nations must take timely action to deal with economic and social problems and thus prevent their developing into sources of conflict that will ultimately constitute a threat to international peace and security.

(Mr. Somavia, Chile)

Chile agrees that economic and social development is necessary as the foundation of strengthened international peace and security. Proof of the fact that that is Chile's attitude is to be found in the country's decisive commitment to the promotion of the World Summit for Social Development.

Likewise, we are firmly convinced that democratic practices and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms are intimately linked with the attainment of international peace and security. Accordingly - as the Secretary-General's report indicates - the United Nations must be prepared, when so requested by a State, to cooperate in the transformation and improvement of democratic institutions.

The task of the United Nations is to promote a global atmosphere and a system of international relations that are just and equitable for all. We invite the Secretary-General, as others have done, to complement his "Agenda for Peace" with an agenda for development.

We all know that at the United Nations we have now been presented with a unique opportunity. We have a duty to design a stable international order in which no one feels marginalized or exploited. This is undoubtedly a long-term task, and we must not harbour any illusions about our being able to achieve a stable international order overnight.

We have an obligation to create together a vision of the world as we want it to be tomorrow. We start with a burdensome heritage. Together, the ideologies of the cold war and the increasing dehumanization of economic processes have led to trivialization of the values that are fundamental to any society.

(Mr. Somavia, Chile)

I say this because I am convinced that, above all, an "Agenda for Peace" must be an agenda of shared values. We must have the courage to promote values here in the United Nations. We must have the courage to speak of tolerance, solidarity, brotherhood, the dignity of the human person, and even, in this world of realpolitik, love and mutual understanding. This is what ordinary people expect of us. We do not have the right to think only of the short term.

For example, as far as values are concerned, we need to ask ourselves, why it seems to be more urgent for the United Nations to act when someone is killed by a bullet than when someone dies from malnutrition. The General Assembly itself approves - generally without problems, and rightly so - the substantial financing required for the peace-keeping operations decided on by the Security Council. And that should be the case. But at the same time we are all aware that any major initiative in the economic and social field comes up against the financial barrier that exists here today whereby it must be conducted "within existing resources". Can anyone imagine what would happen if peace-keeping operations were to be carried out "within existing resources"?

What are the values which lead to death in an armed conflict - tragic and terrible though it is - being regarded as more important than the 40,000 children who die every day from malnutrition and inadequate sanitary facilities or, in institutional terms, why is it always so much easier to find funding for the urgent initiatives of the Security Council than for those of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly?

As I have already stated, in order to solve these problems we must combine "An Agenda for Peace" with an agenda for development. The two are complementary and indispensable if we are to construct the United Nations of the future.

(Mr. Somavia, Chile)

We do not believe that the attention that needs to be paid to economic and social problems as a source of potential conflicts that affect peace and security means transferring the functions of the Economic and Social Council to the Security Council. Rather, as the Heads of State or Government affirmed in the Security Council on 31 January this year:

> "The United Nations membership as a whole, working through the appropriate bodies" - the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly - "needs to give the highest priority to the solution of these matters." (S/PV.3046, p. 143)

That statement refers to the non-military sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological fields which have become threats to peace and security.

That is evidently not a task for the Security Council. It is the responsibility of the United Nations system as a whole and, in the first place, of the Secretary-General, who must serve as the symbol of collective aspirations. He must be a catalyst for what is obtainable, give encouragement to what is difficult and, sometimes, propose what today appears impossible but will tomorrow be recognized as sensible and reasonable.

We congratulate the Secretary-General, who is performing this task with vision, personality and a sense of leadership.

We in turn, as Governments, have a duty to provide him with both our backing and our guidance.

We need to be imaginative in thinking about the future and realistic in seeking to achieve what is possible. We need to be creative in inventing new solutions to old problems and practical in obtaining concrete results. We need to represent our countries but also to think of the common interests of

(Mr. Somavia, Chile)

mankind. We need to listen to one another, respect one another and become accustomed to learning from one another. We need to develop effective formulas for dialogue and negotiation. In short, we need to build together the minimal foundations for mutual trust.

In this context, it is essential to promote education for peace, conceived of as a means of spiritual and conceptual preparation for comparing ideas and seeking agreements. The more people there are who are trained in this philosophy of coexistence, the more timely will be the early warnings in situations when peace is at risk.

Hence the importance of "An Agenda for Peace" and the innovative paths it explores in relation to the traditional issues of international peace and security.

We well know that there is nothing more pragmatic than a good idea, nothing more realistic than a sound concept. "An Agenda for Peace" is full of ideas and concepts. Let us listen to one another in order to know which ones we share, and let us do the impossible to make them possible.

Mr. AFONSO (Mozambique): My delegation is pleased to join previous speakers in congratulating the Secretary-General for his excellent and timely reports on the work of the Organization and "An Agenda for Peace".

The current session of the General Assembly is taking place against a background of continued and ever-growing changes in international relations. The cold war is over, and so is the ideological rivalry, the arms race, the competition for zones of influence and the military power blocs. Positive changes have occurred and we now witness a common and global trend towards the enchancement of democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights and

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

fundamental freedoms. This new situation has given hope and, indeed, produced some first results in the search for conflict resolution.

Notwithstanding these promising opportunities, the international community is still confronted by difficult problems and serious challenges which pose potential threats to international peace and security. Such problems and challenges include the emergence of extreme nationalism in certain areas of the globe, the plight of millions of refugees and displaced persons victimized by war and armed conflicts, the ongoing world-wide economic recession which has a severe impact on poverty levels especially in developing countries, mounting social tensions which are manifested in racial and religious intolerance, and ethnic hostilities. All these factors, coupled with the unchecked environmental degradation, constitute serious threats to national and international stability.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

In this critical historic context Member States are duty bound to seize this opportunity for a renaissance of our Organization, both in strategies and actions. The Secretary-General's reports are rich in concepts of a new United Nations for the new era. The Secretary-General's ideas open a new window of opportunity for a deliberate and determined exercise of political will and corresponding commitment by all Member States in search of a better United Nations, an Organization better equipped to respond to the trust and expectations of the peoples of the world. The end of the cold-war rivalry and bipolarity should afford the United Nations a privileged position in the efforts to maintain international peace and security, secure justice and human rights and promote "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom", as prescribed in the Charter.

My delegation welcomes the current political exercise aimed at strengthening the role of the United Nations in the promotion of international peace and security. Our efforts must continue to be guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter. The international community must ensure respect for the sovereign equality of all States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and strict adherence to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

While undertaking these initiatives, we must also ensure the continued role of the States as "the foundation-stone" of the United Nations work, as the Secretary-General put it. Such an approach would be in line with the principles of national sovereignty and territorial integrity, as enshrined in the Charter. It would also guarantee the centrality of States in the conduct

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

of international relations. Respect for sovereign equality between States is vital for the promotion of cooperation and understanding between nations. The principle of sovereign equality is of paramount importance in order to foster the credibility and legitimacy of United Nations actions around the globe.

My delegation concurs with the basic thrust of the proposals and goals contained in "An Agenda for Peace". In this regard, I should like to highlight the critical importance of resorting to preventive diplomacy, through the early identification of potential conflicts; the engagement in peacemaking efforts where conflicts take place; the preservation of post-conflict peace through peace-keeping; and effective and commensurate assistance in the implementation of agreements achieved. Last but not least, the question of post-conflict peace-building, involving actions aimed at supporting structures which can strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid the resurgence of violence and conflict, plays an important role in these endeavours.

We believe in the importance of the several practical measures suggested in the report to strengthen the capacity of the Secretariat and the Organization at large in putting into place "An Agenda for Peace". I wish to refer in particular to the undertaking by the Secretary-General of periodic consultations on confidence-building measures, fact-finding missions, the strengthening of early warning arrangements of the United Nations, mediation and negotiations on behalf of the United Nations, the revitalization and reinforcement of the role of the International Court of Justice, international assistance - especially humanitarian assistance to ameliorate conflict situations - and countermeasures to mitigate the impact of internationally

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

agreed sanctions. In this regard, my delegation attaches the utmost importance to cooperation and complementarity in efforts of the United Nations and regional organizations. We view the recently created Organization of African Unity Mechanism for Preventing, Managing and Resolving Conflicts in Africa as being along the lines mentioned in "An Agenda for Peace."

On the issue of financing peace-keeping operations, my delegation believes that every effort should be made to find an effective solution which takes into account the interests and circumstances of all Member States, as well as the need to ensure that our Organization performs its fundamental objective, the maintenance of international peace and security.

My country has a vested interest in seeing a sound and secure functioning of the United Nations peace-keeping operations. Having lived in a war-torn country for more than 30 years, our people have now turned to the United Nations to assist them in their endeavours for peace, national reconciliation and the reconstruction of the country.

As representatives are aware, following the signing in Rome of the General Peace Agreement between the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO, the Security Council adopted resolution 782 (1992) on 13 October. The resolution, inter alia, approved the appointment by the Secretary-General of an interim Special Representative and the dispatch to Mozambique of a team of up to 25 military observers. Both the interim Special Representative and the military observers are now in Mozambique playing an important role in seeing that the cease-fire holds. As a matter of fact, a meeting took place today, the first of its kind, between the Government of Mozambique, RENAMO and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

On behalf of the Mozambican Government, I wish once again to thank the Secretary-General for his personal dedication to peace in my country since his tenure of office began 10 months ago. During this long peacemaking process we have benefited from his advice, good judgement and political and diplomatic experience. We wish in particular to commend him for the expeditious manner in which he complied with the provisions of the Security Council resolution by putting together an initial group of peace-keepers in Mozambique.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

From this rostrum, we wish to appeal strongly to each and every State Member of the United Nations to assist the Secretary-General, the Security Council and the Government of Mozambique in providing the necessary resources, be they financial or in personnel, equipment, logistics or training, in order to put in place a full-fledged United Nations operation in Mozambique.

As we emphasized a few days ago before the Security Council, the whole viability of the general peace agreement hinges on the central role to be played by the United Nations. Without a massive and effective United Nations presence in the field, the fragile peace prospects in our country may well be jeopardized. We firmly believe that the international community will heed our appeal.

Many, innovative proposals have been put forward by the Secretary-General in his "Agenda for Peace". My delegation wishes to express its full support for the Secretary-General and his approach to and vision of the challenges facing the Organization. The expectations and challenges facing the United Nations are clearly the very same that face our peoples and nations today. We should especially like to single out our support for the idea of setting up a reserve fund to guarantee the rapid mobilization and deployment of United Nations peace-keeping operations whenever and wherever they are needed. The establishment of such a fund would be another concrete contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. KALPAGÉ (Sri Lanka): The Sri Lanka delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on the work of the Organization. We agree with his perception that

> "It is in our power to bring about a renaissance - to create a new United Nations for a new international era." (A/47/1, para. 5)

(Mr. Kalpagé, Sri Lanka)

The report on "An Agenda for Peace" is both innovative and challenging. The proposals in it must be considered with the care and seriousness they deserve. These proposals address the opportunities as well as the dangers that lie ahead. We have found this discussion on "An Agenda for Peace" to be extremely useful. The depth of analysis and the range of comments made are indicative of the complexities involved. The ideas expressed here with candour and conviction can provide a basis for further deliberation and follow-up action.

Our collective efforts to fulfil the "Agenda for Peace" should be pursued in tandem with the formulation and realization of an agenda for development. The peace agenda of the Organization must necessarily be underpinned by a development agenda to make the overall effort viable and sustainable. We share the view that lasting peace is an integrated and dynamic concept encompassing security, development and social justice. The multilateral agenda of our Organization for the period ahead should therefore lay emphasis on the strategic triad of shared security, development and human welfare. The high visibility and urgency of certain security questions should not be allowed to mask the imperative of addressing the underlying socio-economic factors that militate against the achievement of lasting peace. Peace, security and development - these are indivisible. My delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General for bringing out this interrelationship in his two reports.

We share the Secretary-General's view that

> "The foundation-stone of this work is and must remain the State".

(A/47/277, para. 17)

The fundamental sovereignty and integrity of the State are crucial to any common progress we seek to achieve. Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking,

(Mr. Kalpagé, Sri Lanka)

peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building must be pursued in a manner that meets the legitimate aspirations of all Member States.

We believe that the General Assembly should continue to be the principal policy-making body of the United Nations. It is here in the General Assembly that overall policy with regard to the proposals in the "Agenda for Peace" should be formulated. Such a policy should be in keeping with the provisions of the Charter. It should be principled and pragmatic. It should contribute to the stability and long-term viability of the international system. The principle of sovereign equality requires the participation of all Member States in the formulation of such policy.

The powers of the Assembly, as stated in Article 10 of the Charter, include the power to discuss and make recommendations on questions relating to the settlement of disputes. The Charter authorizes the Assembly not only to address directly the States parties involved in a dispute or situation, but also to play an important role in the coordination of the activities of the principal organs of the United Nations in the field of the prevention and peaceful settlement of disputes and situations within the provisions of the Charter.

We must remain faithful, and unflinchingly so, to common basic principles: first, the concept of national sovereignty; secondly, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States; and, thirdly, economic cooperation. The Secretary-General has reminded us that the unlimited fragmentation of sovereign entities would make it more difficult to achieve peace, security and economic well-being for all. External intervention in any guise cannot be justified, except in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, particularly in cases where domestic solutions have not been entirely exhausted.

(Mr. Kalpagé, Sri Lanka)

Sri Lanka supports confidence-building measures at all levels. These measures should be aimed at reducing threats to security by promoting openness. We welcome the Secretary-General's undertaking periodic consultations on confidence-building measures. We believe that periodic consultations between the Governments of a region, at the highest political level, would also contribute to the process of regional confidence-building. This would provide opportunities to strengthen the existing relations between States and to improve mutual understanding and trust.

Fact-finding should be objective and carried out in an impartial manner. It should contribute to building confidence and to defusing a conflict situation. Extreme care should be exercised to ensure that the presence of fact-finding missions does not aggravate a given situation.

We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his recommendation that the Security Council devise a set of measures to assist States confronted with special economic problems resulting from the imposition of sanctions under Article 41 of the Charter. In this context, it would be pertinent to point out that action by the Security Council to use force under Chapter VII of the Charter could cause not only economic problems but human problems as well. We have seen, for example, the enormous difficulties faced by the large number of returnee migrant workers, particularly from developing countries, during the Gulf crisis.

Therefore, we hope that the Security Council will adopt suitable measures to assist States affected by Security Council decisions under Chapter VII of the Charter. We should like to emphasize the need for procedures that would make possible the rapid implementation of any measures adopted. Failure to do so will not bring the desired results, however good the intentions may be.

(Mr. Kalpagé, Sri Lanka)

Our warm appreciation goes to those who are already bearing the brunt of peace-keeping operations. A vast expenditure is being incurred. This expenditure is bound to increase steeply in the immediate future. This will be an important factor in determining the involvement of the United Nations in action on "An Agenda for Peace".

It is important that the issues related to "An Agenda for Peace" be considered as a whole, in an integrated manner. We therefore support the proposal that an open-ended working group of the General Assembly be entrusted with this task.

Mr. ERDENECHULUUN (Mongolia): The Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, the representative of Indonesia, Ambassador Wisnumurti, has already spoken on the item under consideration. On behalf of the Movement, my delegation wishes to amplify some of the points that are reflected in that statement.

There was practically no statement in the general debate at this session of the General Assembly that did not in one way or another touch upon the report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace", prepared pursuant to the decision taken by the first Security Council Summit Meeting, in January this year. This fact alone testifies to the importance that Member States attach to the timely issue of the restructuring, revitalization and democratization of the United Nations. Indeed, it is inconceivable to imagine the world Organization being unresponsive to the dramatic changes taking place throughout the world. We believe that this report is the result of a logical evolution of the new perceptions that ought to guide the United Nations in addressing major challenges that are before us.

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

We welcome the thought-provoking report of the Secretary-General, which contains innovative ideas and concepts designed to enhance the role of the Organization in safeguarding international peace and security. As the Secretary-General has drawn upon the experience of peace-keeping operations in recent years, which are characterized by their growing scope and dimensions, the report represents an integral concept, covering all the political and military components - that is, preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building.

My delegation wishes to emphasize that among these four major components the United Nations and its Member States must give priority attention to preventive diplomacy and exert every effort to utilize it to the full. The ideal situation would undoubtedly be the solution to a problem within the framework of preventive diplomacy. In other words, we have to make sure that every means of preventive diplomacy is exhausted before we emarbark on the next stage.

As far as the peacemaking component is concerned, we wish to single out paragraph 41 of the report, which deals with special economic problems of the third parties that might be affected by the imposition of sanctions. We support the Secretary-General's idea of putting in place a set of measures to insulate States from economic difficulties. Mongolia is among the many countries that are being affected by the ongoing sanctions. In this respect, my delegation commends the important and timely efforts of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations to study ways and means to ensure prompt and adequate response to requests for assistance under Article 50 of the Charter. We believe that such specific proposals as the establishment of a compensatory fund administered by the Security Council and the freezing of assets of the offender-State should command the attention of

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

the Special Committee at its future sessions. Here, I wish to note the adoption of Security Council resolution 778 (1992) as an important precedent-setting decision of the Council to hold the offender-State responsible for some specific obligations and payments.

The activities of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization are instrumental in the ongoing efforts to revitalize the United Nations. We hope that the Secretary-General's report will give the Special Committee a new impetus to finalize the consideration of items on its agenda and proceed to take up new important questions for discussion.

We applaud a new concept in the Secretary-General's report regarding post-conflict peace-building, which represents a logical completion of peacemaking and peace-keeping operations. Having said that, I wish to note here that we are not suggesting any strict compartmentalization or separation of these interlinked components. Rather, depending on a given situation, some of the components could and should be utilized in parallel. It should be emphasized that any innovative idea or new approach must be conceived within the limits of the underlying principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Security Council, which bears primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, after having been freed from the handicaps of the cold-war era has undoubtedly become a much more effective instrument in carrying out its mandate.

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

At the same time, we believe that changes have to be made in both the composition and the workings of the Council so as to reflect the new reality appropriately. Democratization of United Nations bodies requires transparency and accountability in the work of the Security Council as well. This also implies the need for a balanced relationship among the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

It has been widely recognized that security concepts have come to encompass not only military and political but also economic, social, humanitarian and environmental aspects. We fully agree with the view stated by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization that

> "Political progress and economic development are inseparable: both are equally important and must be pursued simultaneously." (A/47/1, para. 64)

It is in that context that my delegation supports the call addressed to the Secretary-General for an agenda for development.

My delegation notes with interest the various ideas put forward with regard to rectifying the extremely difficult financial situation of the Organization. It goes without saying that the sound financial basis of the Organization is the collective responsibility of all Member States. We support the idea of establishing a revolving peace-keeping reserve fund of $50 million that would help secure the financing of the initial stages of new peace-keeping operations.

Alongside the various proposals and recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report, the current deliberations have produced a host of new ideas that we believe require thorough study and extensive discussion by

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

all Member States. In this respect, my delegation is in favour of setting up an open-ended working group to examine the report and the proposals of Member States and to come up with specific recommendations. We hope a decision to that effect can be adopted as soon as possible in order to enable the working group to begin its work in the course of the present session.

The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization contains a synthesis of the ongoing restructuring process and of forward-looking strategies to deal with global challenges. Both reports of the Secretary-General are mutually supportive, and we regard them as an important contribution towards attaining the objective set by the Secretary-General to complete the present phase in the renewal of the Organization by 1995, its fiftieth anniversary.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): In accordance with General Assembly resolutions 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and 43/177 of 15 December 1988, I now call on the representative of the Observer delegation of Palestine.

Mr. AL-KIDWA (Palestine) (interpretation from Arabic): I wish to convey to Ambassador Ganev my congratulations upon his election to the presidency of the General Assembly for this session and to express my appreciation to him and to his friendly country, Bulgaria. The chairman of the delegation of Palestine for the forty-seventh session, Mr. Farouk Kaddoumi, will congratulate him on behalf of our delegation when he speaks before the Assembly at a later date.

Allow me also to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his constructive efforts aimed at building a more effective United Nations that can help build a better world

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

of peace, justice and prosperity. Allow me furthermore to thank him for his important report, "An Agenda for Peace", prepared at the invitation of the historic Security Council summit which represented a new mechanism for dealing with the highly important world issues. We hope that meeting will be repeated in the future so that concrete results may be achieved. When we speak of this, we must not forget that the idea of holding such a meeting was introduced for the first time by the President of France when he suggested the convening of a Security Council summit meeting to deal with the situation in the Middle East.

It is important for us to be able to participate in this significant debate on the most effective means of achieving lasting peace in the world through preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building as well as on the means of enabling the United Nations and its various organs, especially the Security Council, to carry out that entire programme in the most efficient manner possible.

The debate acquires more significance because it takes place now, at a time when we have a historic opportunity to build a better world. The old world order has crumbled and with it its main feature, the cold war and the attendant danger of nuclear confrontation. This has given rise to high hopes regarding the establishment of a new world order that would be free from the danger of confrontation and safe from the devastation of war, as it would be free from rivalry for dominion and influence: a world that would be built on justice and the rule of law, a world which would attach high importance to development, to the struggle against poverty and want, to the upholding of human rights and to the preservation of the environment.

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

There is no doubt that during the short period since the change started and up to the present, several achievements have been made, including: a greater awareness of the real problems that beset the world; an acceptance of the importance of in-depth debate amongst all parties on those problems and on the means of solving them; an increased readiness on the part of all to put aside positions that had been held for long periods of time; in addition, of course, to the numerous democratic transformations that have led to the consolidation of freedom in many parts of the world. Those achievements also included the settlement of numerous longstanding regional conflicts and disputes.

This, of course, has a major significance that cannot be denied. However, it is also undeniable that we are still a long way off from the bright picture we have visualized of a new situation in the world. There are still major disagreements on the scale of priorities and even on the formulation of concrete meanings and definitions of the goals we declare that we have set for ourselves and of the means of achieving such goals.

In addition, the economic suffering of the South continues, and the gap that separates it from the North is widening. Several regional conflicts, with their attendant threats to international peace and security, continue unabated and without solution. Moreover, new conflicts break out, in an outrageous manner, without even the prospect of this being brought under control. Meanwhile, we must admit that confidence in the moral and legal foundation of certain positions is receding, while fears of selectivity, double standards and the appetite of some for dominance and hegemony on the ascendant. All this may be the source of the importance we attach to our discussion here, today, and to the many other debates on the international

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

situation. It may be that through such debates, God willing, we shall be able to build together the new world order and imbue it with its main attribute, namely the attainment and maintenance of peace in the world.

We have listened carefully to the debate thus far on the Secretary-General's report. We can say that we find ourselves in agreement with the spirit of the report and with a great many of the ideas and proposals set forth therein. We hope those proposals will be the subject of the discussion that may lead to consensus over them and, thereby, to implementation. In this respect, allow me to make some comments which we deem to be important:

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

We believe that what the report says with regard to self-determination for peoples reflects the desire to check the aggravation of the phenomenon of fragmentation of States and we believe that this must be read without contradiction to the principle relating to the absolute right of peoples under colonialism and foreign occupation to exercise self-determination as that is a right which has been enshrined as one of the purposes of the United Nations, in the Organization's Charter.

We believe that the importance of the United Nations and the significance of its enhanced role in the field of peacemaking and peace-keeping will always depend on the shouldering by the United Nations of its role and normal responsibilities vis-à-vis all disputes and regional conflicts alike without exceptions or selectivity under any pretext. We further believe that it is illogical for the Security Council to leap towards the assumption of tasks in new areas regardless of the importance of such areas, without the discharge, or at least the effective handling, by the Council of its principal tasks under its present mandate. Furthermore, we believe that success in achieving all that is envisaged in the report regarding the increased efficacy of the United Nations and the Security Council's activities in the fields of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building shall not depend solely on the ability of the Security Council to impose the implementation of some coercive measures in order to enforce some of its resolutions under Chapter 7 of the Charter. More importantly, success shall depend on the Security Council's ability to impose the implementation and follow-up of, as well as full adherence to, all its other resolutions, together with full adherence to Article 25 of the United Nations Charter, once again, without exceptions or selectivity.

(Mr. Al-Fidwa, Palestine)

While speaking of the work of the Security Council, we must state that although there have been some positive signs, such as the fact that the right of veto has not been used over the past two years, we have to voice our concern over some other disturbing features of the Council's activities, especially the lack of transparency and the increased tendency to selectivity, whether in the manner of dealing with crises or in the area of adhering to rules or implementing resolutions.

In general, we believe that the Council must undergo certain structural and functional reforms that would reflect better the new international situation and lead to better results. We also believe that the absolute importance of the principal responsibilities entrusted to the Security Council, namely the maintenance of international peace and security, requires that priority should be given to that task and also require effective participation by all. Such participation could be achieved only in the General Assembly. We remain convinced of the need for the General Assembly to complete and follow up its discussion of the Secretary-General's report in a more comprehensive manner. This could be done properly through the work of an open-ended working group.

We cannot deny or even forget for one moment that we belong to Palestine and the Middle East; we live its crises daily. Therefore, when we examine or speak of ideas and the means of achieving peace and when we hear others speaking of that, we cannot but make comparisons between what is being said, on the one hand, and what is actually taking place in the Middle East on the other. When the issue under discussion is a bigger and more effective role for the United Nations, we cannot but remember that the United Nations has

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

been barred from supervising or even participating in the Middle East peace process currently under way. When the issue under discussion is compliance with Security Council resolutions, which represent the international will, we cannot but remember that, since 1967, Israel has not complied with any of the Security Council's resolutions relating to the situation in the occupied Palestinian territory, including Al-Quds, and that it has even publicly rejected some of those resolutions and has refused to receive commissions sent by the Council. When the issue under discussion is the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons, we cannot but remember that Israel is being enabled daily to acquire and stockpile nuclear weapons.

I am not going to go on. However, the question remains: how can we reconcile the veracity of such noble ideas, on the one hand, with what goes on daily in our country and our region, on the other? Unfortunately, that is not possible. However, this will not make us lose faith or weaken our belief in those ideas and will not prevent us from being open to the new world. Rather, it makes us more determined to change the situation in our region and to bring it in line with those ideas. We are ready, and the right beginning for the others is to end the contradiction between what they say and what they do. This would enable us to move in the right direction, towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, that could be built by all of us, as an integral part of the peace and security of the whole world.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.